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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 PFIP-01 C-01 DODE-00 EUR-01 HA-09
H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01 P-01 RP-10 SNP-00
SP-00 SR-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 FMP-00
/035W

-----7E2974 241226Z /38

P 241214Z NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4575
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GM//ECJ4//
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USDAO LILONGWE MI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 06488

STATE FOR AF/E AND AF/C

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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TAGS: MOPS, PREL, PREF, RW, UG
SUBJECT: ARUSHA V: COMMENTS OF AN RPF REP IN KAMPALA
REF: KAMPALA 6401

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE RPF DELEGATION IS PREPARED TO BEGIN
ARUSHA V WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE INTEGRATION OF THE
MILITARY, BUT EXPECTS THAT NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE LONG
AND TEDIOUS. THE DIVISIONS AMONG THE INTERNAL

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PARTIES WILL CONTINUE TO HAMPER A SPEEDY RESOLUTION OF THE REMAINING POLITICAL ISSUES, AND THE RPF IS RESIGNED TO PARTICIPATING IN A PROTRACTED SERIES OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE RPF LEADERSHIP BELIEVES PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA IS DETERMINED TO REMAIN IN POWER AND IS MANIPULATING RWANDA'S INTERNAL SITUATION TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE ARUSHA TALKS. THE RPF CONTINUES TO THINK THE FRENCH ARE NOT PUTTING ENOUGH PRESSURE ON HABYARIMANA TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY IN ARUSHA AND TO SPEED THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN RWANDA.

END SUMMARY

3. DR. THEOGEN RUDASINGWA OF THE RPF STOPPED BY THE RESIDENCE ON SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22. HE HAD JUST RETURNED FROM A WEEK IN RPF-HELD TERRITORY IN RWANDA AND WAS ENROUTE BACK TO ARUSHA FOR ROUND FIVE. RUDASINGWA WAS UP-TO-SPEED ON THE POLITICAL TENSION AND INTER-PARTY VIOLENCE IN KIGALI, BUT WANTED TO CONFIRM RWANDA RADIO BROADCASTS THAT SAID THE FIVE PARTIES IN THE RWANDAN COALITION HAD FAILED TO AGREE

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ON A COMMON POSITION ON THE TRANSITIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF CABINET PORTFOLIOS. I TOLD RUDASINGWA THAT HIS INFORMATION WAS ESSENTIALLY CORRECT. THE GOVERNMENT HAD NOT AGREED ON HOW TO HANDLE THE TWO REMAINING POLITICAL QUESTIONS FROM ROUND IV, AND ROUND V AT ARUSHA WOULD OPEN WITH A DISCUSSION ON MILITARY INTEGRATION. I ASKED HIM WHETHER THE RPF WOULD BE READY TO TALK ABOUT THE MILITARY QUESTIONS AND WHAT HE EXPECTED COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED AT THE NEXT ROUND.

4. BEFORE ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF MILITARY INTEGRATION, RUDASINGWA SAID THAT HE WANTED TO SHARE THE RPF'S ASSESSMENT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN RWANDA. HE SAID THAT THE RPF LEADERSHIP BELIEVES:

- HABYARIMANA IS DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN POWER IN RWANDA AND HAS NOT RECONCILED HIMSELF TO ABIDING BY ANY OF THE AGREEMENTS SO FAR REACHED AT ARUSHA;
- THE POLITICAL VIOLENCE THAT IS SWEEPING KIGALI AND OTHER AREAS IS BEING ORCHESTRATED BY HABYARIMANA AND HIS POLITICAL PARTY.

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-- HABYARIMANA HAS PUBLICLY UNDERCUT HIS PRINCIPAL NEGOTIATOR, FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA, AND THIS HAS CONFIRMED THAT THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATORS IN ARUSHA DO NOT SPEAK FOR THE PRESIDENT OR HIS PARTY.

-- THE DIVISIONS AMONG THE INTERNAL PARTIES WILL
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PREVENT A SPEEDY RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL
ISSUES AND SLOW DOWN THE EFFORT TO REACH A FINAL
AGREEMENT.

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5. RUDASINGWA ALSO CONFIRMED THAT THE RPF IS
PREPARED FOR PROTRACTED NEGOTIATIONS AND WILL STAY
THE COURSE. ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE RPF CADRES IN THE
BUSH ARE ASKING WHAT RESULTS HAVE THE CEASEFIRE AND
NEGOTIATIONS BROUGHT, HE SAID RPF WILL MAINTAIN THE
CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT.

6. TURNING TO THE ISSUE OF MILITARY INTEGRATION,
RUDASINGWA SAID THE RPF DELEGATION WOULD BE PREPARED

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	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	FMP-00

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KAMPALA 06488

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TO DISCUSS MILITARY ISSUES AT ARUSHA V, BUT THAT HE EXPECTED THE DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE LONG AND ARDUOUS. JUST LIKE THE TWO POLITICAL ISSUES THAT HAD BEEN LEFT UNRESOLVED DURING ARUSHA IV, THE MILITARY ISSUE WAS LIKELY TO GENERATE DISAGREEMENT AND DELAY. IN DESCRIBING THE RPF'S NEGOTIATING POSITION, RUDASINGWA TOOK A SLIGHTLY TOUGHER LINE THAN IN OUR PREVIOUS CONVERSATION (REFTEL). HE SAID THE RPF WOULD INSIST ON PARITY OF THE TWO ARMIES, NOT JUST PARITY IN THE HIGH COMMAND. THIS WAS NECESSARY FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS. THE SECURITY SITUATION IN RWANDA WAS GROWING WORSE, NOT BETTER. HABYARIMANA COULD NOT BE TRUSTED. HE HAD ALREADY UNDERCUT HIS NEGOTIATORS AND COALITION PARTNERS. FINALLY, THE RWANDAN ARMY HAD NOT DEFEATED THE RPF ON THE BATTLEFIELD. THE TWO ARMIES WERE ESSENTIALLY EQUAL. I URGED FLEXIBILITY ON THIS ISSUE AND SUGGESTED THAT THE RPF LEADERS CONSULT LT. COL. MARLEY AND THE OTHER OBSERVERS

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BEFORE CASTING THEIR POSITION IN CONCRETE.

7. RUDASINGWA ALSO COMPLAINED AGAIN ABOUT THE FRENCH. HE CLAIMED THE FRENCH WERE NOT PUTTING ENOUGH PRESSURE ON HABYARIMANA TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY IN ARUSHA OR TO CHANGE HIS WAYWARD POLITICAL HABITS IN RWANDA. I EXPLAINED THAT WE THOUGHT THE FRENCH WERE PLAYING A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THE ARUSHA PROCESS. RUDASINGWA LISTENED, BUT I DON'T THINK HE TOOK MY REMARKS SERIOUSLY. HE ALSO COMPLAINED ABOUT

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RECENT REPORTS OF NEW ARMS SHIPMENTS TO THE RWANDAN
MILITARY AND THE HEAVIER THAN USUAL NIGHTLY TROOP

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MOVEMENTS ON THE RWANDAN SIDE OF THE CEASEFIRE LINE. HE ASKED WHETHER THESE ACTIONS PRESAGED SOME TYPE OF SURPRISE RWANDAN OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE RPF. I SAID I HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF THE RWANDAN TROOP MOVEMENTS OR ANY RECENT MILITARY RESUPPLY EFFORTS. HE SEEMED MORE CONVINCED WITH MY RESPONSE ON THESE ISSUES.

8. BEFORE LEAVING, RUDASINGWA SAID HE WOULD ARRIVE IN ARUSHA ON THURSDAY, MORNING NOVEMBER 26, AFTER A BRIEF VISIT TO BUJUMBURA. I INFORMED HIM THAT AMBASSADOR EDWARD BRYNN WOULD BE REPLACING DAVID RAWSON AND THAT LT. COL. TONY MARLEY WOULD ALSO BE ON HAND. HE SAID HE LOOKED FORWARD TO SEEING LT. COL. MARLEY AGAIN AND TO WORKING WITH AMBASSADOR BRYNN.

9. COMMENT: GIVEN THE FLUIDITY OF THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING ROUND, I TRIED TO MAKE THREE POINTS WITH RUDASINGWA -- ALMOST THE SAME POINTS I RAISED AT OUR LAST MEETING. I STRESSED THAT THE RPF SHOULD:

- MAINTAIN THE CEASEFIRE, AND NOT TRY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE POLITICAL TURMOIL IN KIGALI. IT WOULD ONLY BACKFIRE.
- BE FLEXIBLE AND CONCENTRATE ON FINDING SOLUTIONS AND COMMON GROUND WITH THE GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATORS.
- REMAIN AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE. THE RPF SHOULD BE

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PREPARED FOR EXTENDED NEGOTIATIONS. GIVEN THE
ACKNOWLEDGED DIFFERENCES AMONG THE ACTORS IN
KIGALI, THEY WILL HAVE TO HAMMER OUT POSITIONS
BEFORE THEY AGREE ON ISSUES WITH THE RPF.

I THINK RUDASINGWA TOOK THE POINTS. END COMMENT

10. FOR AMBASSADOR BRYNN AND LT. COL. MARLEY: I
HOPE BOTH OF YOU WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET
WITH RUDASINGWA. HE IS APPROACHABLE AND WOULD
WELCOME THE CONTACT. REGARDS.

CARSON

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